1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

at Ahau where *fono* were held, or near the southeastern point of the island. 776
Taleheu, a tract on the west side of the island, was Fehuluni's home, where she lived in a Tahitian chestnut tree.

In the Vavau group, Fehuluni's home is the island of Aa. She has living there with her the women who are said to continually juggle the eyes of human beings, instead of oranges. Certain of the attributes which she has in Nomuka pertain to her also in Vavau, namely, the ability to become either a man or a woman, and the ability to remove her head from her shoulders when combing her hair. The Vavau informant said that those human beings who fell victims to the enticements of this deity died soon and that the deity wished it so, that she might have them with her in Pulotu, the unseen world.

What is probably but another manifestation of Fehuluni is a deity named Malimeihevao, the bisexual god of Uoleva Island, Haapai. The following anecdote concerns him:

A god named Malimeihevao, living in the pigeon mound called Siamaka in the island of Uoleva had the power of assuming either male or female sex at will and visiting a human being of the opposite sex, whom he liked. The deity possessed the mind (*loto*) of the human victim, so that for some time after the divine visitation the victim was irrational. 776 773 789 828

Two men, Kaamoto and Pana, from the neighboring island of Lifuka, went hunting with a shotgun on Uoleva. They had shot a number of flying foxes and large fruit pigeons (*lupe*), when Malimeihevao possessed herself of Kaamoto's mind. As soon as she did so, Kaamoto looked like a fool and became completely irrational. Pana was carrying the game that had been bagged. He urged Kaamoto to return with him to Lifuka, but Kaamoto was deaf to entreaty and proceeded to walk towards the center of Uoleva with his gun under his arm. Kaamoto had been completely robbed of his sense of direction and for two days and two nights he wandered aimlessly. The faithful Pana, realizing that he had lost his mind, followed him, but at last despaired of his becoming rational.

Now Pana bethought himself of a goddess named Puakamopele, who lived in the neighboring island of Tatafa. Puakamopele was a deity with a woman's body and a pig's head. She was the ruler of all the gods of Haapai. Pana now left Kaamoto in Uoleva and went over to Tatafa to seek the aid of the goddess. He besought her to restore his companion to his right mind and to cause him (Kaamoto) to come to him. In a little while Pana saw a flame appear near the goddess, which was a sign that the prayer was to be answered. Shortly after Kaamoto came out on the beach of Uoleva opposite Tatafa and fell down quite exhausted, but rational. He was trembling from head to foot and spitting blood. Pana asked him how he became foolish and Kaamoto told him that a woman had approached him and stolen his senses. Then the two returned to Lifuka. Their pigeons and bats, however, had become rotten and were left behind. The two men told the people in Lifuka of their adventures.

As an obscure sequel to this, the priest Ngaohaa, who officiated for both Puakamopele and Malimeihevao at their joint house in Holopeka, Lifuka, went to Tatafa and requested Puakamopele to kill all of the gods of Haapai. This the obliging goddess did with the exception of Malimeihevao, who entered the owl (*lulu*). 776 773 793

When the priest Ngaohaa wished to consult Malimeihevao in Uoleva, he went right up to the Siamaka or stone mound in which the deity lived, and in which Puakamopele also dwelt at times. This mound is said to be of recent 776 793 349

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

have gone to roost, that is a sign of death, but if another cock answers him, it is all right and nothing will happen. The cocks will crow when they are going to roost, but the ominous crowing is after that, when no sound is expected from them. Later on again if the cock crows, that is called *uua hausia* (dewy? crowing) and has nothing ominous about it. When a number of fowls make the clucking (?) noise called *kotoko*, passing on from one place to another, the sound being taken up by successive groups of the birds, that is called *kotoko folau*, and is a sign that boats or ships are about to arrive. 787 825 [763]

There are many omens also connected with the kingfisher (*sikota*). If a kingfisher flies towards a person or flies continually about him, it is bad luck and he should turn back. If it flies in the direction he is going, or across his path, it is good luck. The following incident reported by W. H. Murley is characteristic of Tongan behavior: 787 825 777

> Whilst sitting in the house the other mid-day deep in conversation with a middle-aged Tongan, a young kingfisher (*sikota*) flew into the room, completed a circle of it and disappeared out of the other door, simultaneously with the Tongan's rising and shifting his quarters to the veranda. On my asking the reason of his getting out of the house the Tongan (Latu by name) replied, in most impressive tones "Tama, that is a bird of ill omen and brings spirits with it. Take care that some harm does not befall you ere long." I only laughed and said I didn't believe in such things. "Yes," he went on, "You may laugh but I tell you that evil spirits come with rubbish and lizards and rats, as well as with kingfishers."

The poem by Fusitouone mentions certain evil bird and insect omens in the following terms. 787 825 538 539

> In the morning we go for our walk;
> And strikes behind the kingfisher,
> And ticks in the day the *pakia* insect,
> And squeaks down the evil owl,
> And the rail cries on the road;
> We two will return accursed.

DREAMS

Dreams (*misi*) seem to have been of little importance in forecasting events. 787 828

The following scanty, and in part contradictory, data refer to the interpretation of dreams, so far as they bear on the future:

> A dream is often regarded as a warning by a spirit of some impending disaster. Thus, a dream that a person falls overboard and drowns, is likely to come true. The dream, however, may not augur death for the one dreamt about, but for one of his family. To dream of a neighbor's house burning down is believed not only to presage such a burning, but perhaps one or two deaths besides. At times dreams go by opposites. Thus a dream in which one appeared very happy might presage his death. [763] [763]
>
> The kind of dream that comes true is one in which a person (alive or dead) comes and tells the dreamer something that is quite clear and distinct. When one

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

sees many things in a muddled dream they do not come true. The period that elapses between a dream and its fulfilment is variable—it may be a week or it may be several months.

A sickness called *fafanga*, which is manifested by a "bad stomach" and results in "doubling up" or even death, is caused by dreaming that a man comes and feeds the dreamer pork, fowl, and other rich food.

A sickness called *takini*, painful urination, is believed to be caused by the frequent dreaming of sexual intercourse. The belief is that the visitant of the dreamer is a spirit (*tevolo*).

MAGIC

Most of the extant magical practices are to be found in the formulas of the *faitoo* (doctors). Material presented here includes odds and ends of magical practices not largely concerned with curing. Malevolent magic is still practiced. Spoken words were believed to be effective too. Thus the term *talatukii* means to curse, to use imprecations so deadly and horrible, that the person against whom they were directed usually died from the effect.

Any medicine man or woman was called *faitoo*. The house of a *faitoo* was called *falehangatamaki*. One informant said that this house was only that of a *faitoo* who treated boils and skin eruptions, and this statement is probably correct, as *hangatamaki* means any sickness or disease appearing upon the surface of the body. When confronted with a sickness about whose diagnosis he was in doubt, a *faitoo* passed his hands over the diseased part, repeating a formula which named every possible disease known and directed the medicine to cure any one or all of them. (See p. 343.)

When collecting the bark of the *tava* and *siale* (*Gardenia*) for medicine the collector always observes which part is towards the setting sun and collects the bark from that side. It is believed to be particularly efficacious, though no reason was given.

One informant stated that his father had buried his umbilical cord and planted a coconut over it. As the tree flourished, so would the individual. I could get no corroboration of this as a practice. No other account of tree planting was obtained. Possibly fear that the tree might be killed and the person suffer make people reticent.

The story of the turtle Sangone mentions the magical stopping of growth and retention of childhood by striking a child on the top of the head (26, p. 50).

When a child's milk tooth is extracted it is thrown on the roof of a house, so that the second tooth will grow quickly. At the same time this rhyme is said:

Hinehina matailaila	White with spots
Omai hoo nifo kovi mooku	Give me your bad tooth
Kae o atu hoo nifo lelei moou.	But have a good tooth for yourself.

That there is a ceremonial or lucky number in Tonga I did not definitely ascertain. That there was, or is, such a number seems likely and it may

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

A woman whose husband had recently died came with her children to a missionary. She said the children were sickly. Consumption appeared the obvious trouble, but she wanted the missionary to pray with them, maintaining that there was a curse somewhere. She had learned from conversation in their village that the children's grandfather had had a pact (held the book, *puke tohi*) with his *tuofefine* (sister or female cousin) and had concluded that this was the reason for all the disaster.

A man had been sick for sometime, and so all his family were cross-examined as to their acts. It developed that one of his sons had gone to Niuafoou some time before with his cousin's wife. He was supposed to look after her on the voyage and performed his duties too tenderly. That was the reason of his father's illness, so it was thought, but whether the son's confession did the old man any good was not learned.

On page 334 I have recounted an incident in which the child of a Tui Tonga became ill because of the intrigue of its mother, while the Tui Tonga was in Haapai. Certain other acts were believed to have serious consequences for one doing them. (See pp. 18, 118, 335, 343, 344.)

Dreams of a certain type are believed to cause certain ailments. (See p. 337.)

To kill the white tern when on a voyage is believed to bring illness. To point at a rainbow, or at the setting sun, is believed to give one elephantiasis in the arm. It is not injurious, however, to look at a rainbow.

If women, bathing in a certain pool or passing near the western cemetery at Maufanga, Tongatabu, saw a gecko, they said that Tui Haa Fakafanua (a god who becomes incarnate in the *gecko*) had entered one of them because he liked her. Pining away and death were the result. Even today, when a girl at Maufanga dies, it is often said that Tui Haa Fakafanua has caused her death. Convent girls from the Hahake district of Tongatabu are said to be particularly liable to such attacks because the Hahake people and the Maufanga people were formerly at enmity.

Other gods or demons were also believed to enter into living persons and cause illness. To drive out such an unwelcome tenant, the affected part of the body was tightly held and massaged, working the demon to an extremity of the body to force him out, at the same time using magic words.

In November, 1920, there occurred an alleged attack by the spirit of a dead man.

A number of girls from the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, were gathering shellfish at Anana, in the lagoon at Tongatabu. One of the girls said that she was attacked by the spirits of three of her deceased relatives, who approached her in a boat while she was standing on the reef. Her symptoms were bleeding from the nose and cramps in the legs, and she declared that her deceased mother's brother, David Alatoa, struck her on the nose. The attack was of course not seen by her companions.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following:

A man from Vavau, a short time ago, died suddenly in a village called Fakakakai in Haapai from hemorrhage of the lungs. A man from the village came into the store on the day he died and was discussing the matter with a woman from here (Pukotala) in the course of which she said that he (the deceased) might have been struck by evil spirits and then enquired if he had any relatives buried here. The answer was that his mother had died in Fakakakai, on hearing this the woman immediately said, "There, that is the reason of his sudden death."

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

scale in favour of Finow's humanity and discriminative justice, we may quote the instance of pardon granted to the two boys of the Port au Prince, who, notwithstanding they were guilty of theft and sacrilege, were excused on account of their supposed ignorance of the extent of their crime; whilst a native would have been executed upon the spot. (See p. 163.) His conduct towards Mr. Mariner must also be noticed at the time when the Hope, Captain Chace, arrived at Vavaoo. (See p. 303.) It should here moreover be observed, that Finow's temper was uncommonly irritable; when once excited into anger, his rage was terrible: this he acknowledged himself, and would frequently say that his quick temper was the infliction sent him from Bolotoo*: and in some measure to obviate its ill effects, he frequently charged his matabooles to hold him whenever they saw him getting violently angry! This they always did, and in about ten minutes or a quarter of

* They believe that every man has some deep-seated evil, either in his mental or bodily constitution, sent him by the gods; but for which they assign no other reason than the delight they take in punishing mankind: this last opinion is however by no means universal, the generality of the natives do not pretend to assign any reason; and upon mature consideration Mr. Mariner is convinced that the malignancy of the gods is not a Tonga doctrine, except as far as regards the Hotoon Pow hereafter to be spoken of.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

776 Of these there are perhaps several in number, but only five or six are supposed to be particularly active; and from their disposition to plague mankind, they reside more frequently at Tonga than at Bolotoo. They are accused of being the cause of all the petty inconveniences and troubles of life: and at Hamóa (or the Navigator's islands), they have an idea which is very convenient to the reputation of the females, that some of these *hotooa pow* molest them in their sleep, in consequence of which there are many supernatural conceptions: at Tonga, however, the matter is never carried to that extent. These *hotooa pow* have no priests, have no houses dedicated to them, nor are they ever invoked. All the great misfortunes of life, as before noticed, are special inflictions from the gods for the crimes of men: whereas the mischievous tricks played by the *hotooa pow* are for their own whim and delight; they lead travellers astray, trip them up, pinch them, jump upon their backs in the dark, cause the nightmare and frightful dreams. They are never seen.

[171] [793] [778] [782] [784] [828]

Móoi—A god that supports the earth, the earth lying on him, he being prostrate. This, as may be supposed, is a very gigantic being, greater in personal bulk than any of the others. He never inspires any body, nor ever leaves

[823] [787]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

has a flat surface, ending abruptly, which the sky overarches. If you ask them why the sea does not run over, the answer will be, "How "can I tell? I have never been there to see; "there are rocks, or something to border it, "probably." With regard to the sun and moon, they pass through the sky, and come back some way, they know not how. As to the spots in the moon, they are compared to the figure of a woman sitting down and beating *gnatoo:* when the moon is eclipsed, they attribute the phenomenon to a thick cloud passing over it: the same with the sun.

Respecting the human soul, in particular, they imagine it to be the finer or more æriform part of the body, and which leaves it suddenly at the moment of death; and it may be conceived to stand much in the same relation to the body as the perfume and more essential qualities of a flower do to the more solid substance which constitutes the vegetable fibre. They have no proper word to express this fine ætherial part of man: as to the word *loto*, though it may be sometimes used for this purpose, yet it rather means a man's disposition, inclination, passion, or sentiment. The soul is rather supposed to exist throughout the whole extension of the body, but particularly in the heart, the pulsation of which is the strength

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

and power of the soul or mind. They have no clear distinction between the life and the soul, but they will tell you that the *fotomanava* (the right auricle of the heart) is the seat of life. They form no idea respecting the use of the brain, unless it be, perhaps, the seat of memory; (they have a distinct word for memory, *manatoo*:) they derive this notion from the natural action of putting the hand to the forehead, or striking the head gently when trying to remember any thing. The liver they consider to be the seat of courage, and they pretend to have remarked (on opening dead bodies), that the largest livers (not diseased), belong to the bravest men. They also say they have made another observation respecting this viscus, viz. that, in left-handed people, it is situated more on the left than on the right side; and, in persons that are ambidexter, it is placed as much on one side as on the other. They are very well acquainted with the situation of all the principal viscera.

They acknowledge that the *tooas*, or lower order of people, have minds or souls; but they firmly believe that their souls die with their bodies, and, consequently, have no future existence. The generality of the tooas, themselves, are of this opinion, but there are some who have the vanity to think they have immor-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

degree of credit, and charms, which they sometimes practise, are more or less connected with their religion, we shall say something of them, before concluding the present subject. Most of their omens we have already had occasion to mention, and have given instances of in the course of the narrative. As to dreams, (see Vol. I. chap. 4 and 14.) Thunder and lightning (same vol. chap. 12 and 14.) Sneezing (same vol. chap. 14.) These omens obtain almost universal credit; and they are thought to be direct indications from the gods of some event that is about to happen. There is a certain species of bird which they call *chicota'*, which is very apt to make a sudden descent, and dart close by one, making a shrieking noise: this bird they suppose to be endowed with a knowledge of futurity, and they consider this action to be a warning of some evil that is about to happen.

As Mr. Mariner was once going out with the present king, and a party of men, upon some excursion against the enemy, one of these birds made a sudden descent, passed over their heads, settled on a tree, passed over their heads again, and again settled; upon which the majority, not excepting the king, were for returning immediately; but Mr. Mariner laughed at their superstition, and, to prove that the bird had no

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

STORIES

INTRODUCTION

The Tongan is an incurable conversationalist. He is a fine orator, and a critical judge of public speaking, equally gifted in conversation. Sociable, humorous, keen-witted, he is admirable in the give-and-take of conversation and banter. A joke is rewarded with peals of laughter. An oddity is summed up in a pointed phrase. Tongans are keen and swift judges of character. A salient feature in the stranger's appearance or character is quickly seized upon. These people have a strong vein of satiric humor which soon strips off a man's disguises; but is not unkindly, and is equally ready to do justice to his virtues. Intelligent and interested in the great world, they welcome into the circle of conversation the foreigner, or the native who has travelled or is able to read the newspapers, and relish his accounts of lands and events outside their own little kingdom.

In ordinary social intercourse, no less than on great ceremonial occasions, the Tongan is remarkable for his dignified courtesy. The lowest born, as well as the chief, has a refinement of manners, which is without servility, and makes his behavior free from embarrassment, even in the presence of the highest chiefs. It is safe to venture the guess that a badly behaved Tongan has spent much time in one of the European settlements. Tongan social usages are strict in their demands, and this unembarrassed correctness of behavior, free from shyness or effrontery, is not a little striking. The foreigner who has spent many happy years with these people must not omit to express his appreciation of the kindly forbearance, not unmixed with amusement—for the Tongan cannot resist a joke—with which the social lapses of the stranger are overlooked, nor the frequent invitation to dispense with some usage which might be irksome to him.

Story-telling is largely in the domain of the older women. The general term for a tale is *fananga*. An institution like the Maori colleges, *whare whananga* (custodians of sacred lore), seems not to have existed among the Tongans. The stories in this work, and in Gifford's Tongan Myths and Tales (22) are *fananga*. It will be seen that the subjects of many are the old gods and kindred topics; but the compositions of a modern novelist would also be *fananga*. A name applied especially to tales of the old gods, creation myths, and the like, is *tala tupua*, which seems to mean either tale of the long ago or tale of mysterious powers, the divine, supernatural. There is a scrap of verse which may possibly refer to prize-giving for story-telling.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

6. The border or edge of anything is *kapa*, and I presume that *tau kapakapa* is the reduplicated form of that word, indicating the edge of the house. [539]

7. The inference is that Tongamauluau is exerting malign influence over Kulakehahau, and it is probably implied that she is not truly human. The narrator just here refers to Anumatenifa as *tevolo*, but whether it is meant that she herself is not really human, or merely that she is behaving with inhuman malignity is not clear. [192]

8. I do not know the meaning of the expression, *he funga ua*, but conjecture that although Kulakehahau and Anumatenifa dwelt in the one house it was in a condition of separateness from each other.

9. By the expression "kin of my father," Kulakehahau indicates that Anumatenifa could not be his wife. [602]

10. The variant which follows mentions that Tongamauluau went with only bark cloth wrapped round her.

11. An additional wife, or wives, brought to a man by his wife are termed *fokonofo*. A woman apparently frequently brought her own younger sisters, or other relatives, as *fokonofo*. Perhaps Tongamauluau means that when Kulakehahau deserted her to live with another woman it was because of a new love, not a new wife that she herself had provided, but just an unreasonable whim. [595]

12. The pining of children for absent friends and relatives is called *manatu* (remember). This is regarded very seriously by the Tongans. [858] [828]

Pages 41-43. Tongamauluau and Kulakehahau, a variant

1. Aofitoki and Aouli are said to be the names of two kinds of cloud. [821]

2. The meaning of *aituo*, a rare word in present-day Tongan, is difficult to discover, but apparently it is the shout of jubilation as a chief leads away his bride. [192]

3. Cloth with unprinted edges cut off is called *lotoingatu;* it is suitable for a chief's dress. [291]

4. The term *hulukulu-tuu* indicates "not put on in the usual way of the kilt (vala), but worn so as to cover the bosom." [291]

Pages 43-44. Tuiolemana and the crab

1. There is a mixture in these names of Tongan and Samoan forms. In Nukuseilala, *nuku* is a Tongan form, and *seilala* Samoan; *tui-o-le-mana* may be wholly Samoan. [197]

2. The word *misimisi* is commonly used to mean suck, but Labillardière reports it as used in a context where it apparently means sexual intercourse. [192]

Pages 44-46. Kalikihevae and the son of the Tui Tonga

1. It is possible to read the Tongan as though the disease had just developed as they reached Hihifo. [857]

2. Tongan women frequently chew food to soften it for their children.

3. The candlenut is a very popular detergent. [515]

4. The inference is Nua had already borne a child, but so beautiful was she that this did not diminish her desirability.

Pages 46-49. Vaenuku and Lepuha

1. The word *mua* is translated (29) as *distributeur, qui parle pour le chef; Ko 'ene mu'a, c'est son,* second. I have found nowhere else any reference to the custom. The second day of the three days assigned to marriage festivities is marked as the bride's bathing day. This bathing must be a special one, as no Tongan, unless in exceptional circumstances, omits the daily bath. Presumably the maiden's leaving her compound to go to the bathing pool was held to present an opportunity for an interview or, perhaps, for beholding the lady's charms. [539] [585] [515]

2. Presumably the meaning is that the maiden and Vaenuku had met and she had accepted him as lover; that is, the bride is announcing to those concerned the successful suitor. [539]

Pages 49-50. Fragments of a poem of Lepuha and Vaenuku

1. This name is also written Vainuku.

2. I am uncertain whether in the Tongan of this line the word is *si*, the plant

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

174. Tolo veka aki paanga: Pelting the rail with money. 539 825 436

Apparently a late phrase coined since the arrival of European money. The word *paanga*, money, is also employed to designate the large flat beans or counters used in the game of *lafo*. The reference to money seems more likely. To kill the rail with pieces of money is doubly foolish. Not only is the ammunition wasted but the rail is of little use when he has been killed.

175. Tolongia pe veka kae ofi: The rail is pelted only when he is close. 539 825

If the bird does not come near the haunts of men there will be nobody to pelt him. In the same way people will not find themselves annoyed or burdened by the commands of chiefs if they keep at a distance from them. [829] [622]

176. Aoto e manu ki Toku: The bird settles on Toku.

Toku is an islet in Vavau whither sea-birds resort in large numbers. The birds may fly far out to sea looking for food but they make for Toku to rest. Used, for instance, of a man coming home to close his days, or jocularly of a lover making for the home of his sweetheart.

177. Hange ha lupe kai kotone: Like a pigeon eating nutmeg.

The pigeon straining to swallow a nutmeg nearly chokes himself, and has to stretch up his head and neck to get the nutmeg down. Used of one who has something on his mind, or who for some other reason sits in company with his head up and an absent-minded expression. The appearance of such a one is compared to that of the straining bird. (Compare Nos. 146 and 167.) [828]

178. Hange ha mata'i moho vao: Like the eye of a wild *moho*.

Moho is the name of a bird. It is very rare now but has been seen on the island of Eua. Its eye has a beautiful red iris. The expression is used of a handsome face. [826]

179. Hange ha tavake ta mafua: Like a tropic bird striking its prey.

Graceful action is here likened to the beautiful sweep of the bird's flight as it comes down to the surface of the sea, the attractiveness of its appearance being further enhanced by its striking tail feathers. (Compare No. 36.)

180. Holo ae miji ki he ovava: The *miji* flock to the *ovava* (*Ficus prolixa*). 539 824 825

The *miji* (*Aplonis tabuensis*) likes the little berries of the *ovava* tree, and flies to the *ovava* in preference to any other tree. The *ovava*, moreover, is a large noble tree and the bird may be supposed to be attracted by its distinguished appearance. The application is that people like to flock to the home of a chief or of a wealthy man. [137] [136] [571] [554] [622] [556]

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

387. Maomao ki taovala: Ready, prepared with *taovala*. 539

The *taovala* is the girdle, usually a piece of mat, put round the waist 292
before going into the presence of a chief. The phrase means to have the 183
taovala always handy to be used whenever needed; hence to be prepared for any emergency that may arise.

388. Pule Taoa: Taoa finery. 539

Pule is literally "spotted," "variegated," as the design in some cloths, 291
or the markings of a cowry shell. This expression is modern and is 177
applied to an European print with a big, gaudy pattern. It is said that one day several women from Taoa, a village in Vavau, went into a store in Neiafu and bought some prints, apparently of rather striking designs. While they were still in the store a man came in and, seeing their purchases, remarked in the words of this expression "Taoa is going in for spots," and the phrase has stuck.

389. Tui momoa: Dry knee, that is, a knee that is hard and dry through exposure to the weather. 539 291 735

A woman's ordinary dress should descend below the knee; an exception is made of the festive dresses worn in dances and sometimes on other ceremonious occasions. This expression indicates primarily a woman so poor that she cannot afford a sufficiently broad piece of cloth for her waistcloth, and so has her knees exposed to the sun and rain and wind. It is used derisively of a poor person.

390. Vala kovi fie kofu silika: Bad loin-cloth wanting to be silk dress. 539 291 554

Evidently modern. The point is rendered plainer if the statement is correct that in the early days silk cost as much as £5 a yard. Used of a commoner who wants to act the chief.

FACIAL EXPRESSION AND GESTURES

391. Faka-alinga lelei: Making a fair showing. 539

This expression carries the implication that there are faults behind the 828
pleasant exterior or that an amiable face may be the mask assumed by very unfriendly feelings.

392. Faka-pula-matai: Making eye swell.

Used of a very angry man, whose eyes protrude in his rage. May be 539
used also of the victim of this rage, whose eyes may swell with vexation 152
and grief, or who may even get a swollen eye through the physical application of the other man's anger; in this sense not unlike the English vulgarism of giving anyone a thick ear. 201

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 152 **393. Hange ha matai fana hala:** Like the face of a man who has missed his aim.

201 521 Such a man will be ashamed of his poor shot (with gun or bow and arrows), and may attempt to hide his confusion with inconsequent talk. Used of someone who has done what he is ashamed of, and whose shame is betrayed in his face and talk.

539 481 828 **394. Hange ha tangitofuhia:** Like a bewildered diver.

Tangitofuhia is used of the bleeding from nose and ears caused by staying a long time under water. In this place it seems rather to refer to a partial loss of consciousness resulting perhaps from striking the head or of staying under water too long, which renders the diver unable to find his way again to the surface. The unfortunate diver will swim about at random in his vain efforts to come up. Applied to one who wanders aimlessly about, or whose thoughs are erratic and disjointed.

539 571 157 **395. Hange kuo takai kapa hono lae:** As though his forehead were sheathed in metal.

Kapa is the local variation of copper, and is used for metal generally. This would seem to be altogether modern, probably suggested by Biblical language, though the same idea of hardy shamelessness is expressed in the Tongan phrase "Veiled with clam-shell." (See No. 241.)

539 571 522 **396. Kamo lalo:** Making secret signs.

Not strictly a proverb; it means that a number of people sitting together one is ironically complimenting another, or in some other way fooling him, at the same time making signs to the rest of the company and thus admitting them into the joke. It is used very much like the Australianism "pulling his leg."

539 152 201 **397. Katakata a nifo tea:** Smiling white teeth.

This is what Uncle Remus calls "a fit of the dry grins." A man may try to cover his shame or confusion with a smile; his teeth will be showing white as though he were smiling but the real feeling of his heart is far from laughter.

539 152 **398. Lau lau louhulu:** Fingering, fingering dried leaves.

A man who is ashamed or embarrassed is likely to break off a piece of the dried leaves with which the houses are floored and keep twisting it about in his hands as he talks; if outside of the house he will pick up any stick or other such thing that happens to be at hand.

[461] So used generally of doing some more or less irrelevant thing to cover up deficiencies, or to hide one's shame and embarrassment, just as a man who is behind with his work may start hustling round to give the impression that he has been hard at it for hours.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

399. Malimali loto: Smiling (in the) heart. 539 152 828

Satisfaction with what is one's own; self-satisfaction. The expression is said to have originated with the handsome man *(manaia)* Vainuku who lived in Eua where he had a little pool of water which he used as a mirror. When he saw the reflection of his handsome face the sight filled him with pleasure, made his heart smile. The pool itself was named *Malimali loto.*

400. Mata mea fooua: Seeing a new thing.

Indicative of the surprise and gratification experienced at beholding an unaccustomed sight. (See No. 267.)

401. Pauu afi mata: Mischievousness pulling down lower lid of the eye. 539 201 578 522

To pull down the lower lid of one's eye at a person is an insulting gesture; but this phrase refers apparently to one who should be so impudent as to do it to the eye of another, as for example a pert child treating thus his mother's eye. The expression means excessively impudent or mischievous.

402. Tuai e kemo: The wink (is) slow. 539 805

Instantaneous, very quick, literally much quicker than a wink of the eyes.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE

403. Finemotua fie finemui: Old woman wanting to be young woman. 539 561 888

A rebuke to the lady who refuses to grow old gracefully; but strives to cheat the advancing years with the adornments and manners that befit the young and fair.

404. Mata kovi ka nae fili ekita: Ugly but I chose myself. 539 832 581

The most direct application of this is to a man who has taken to wife a lady not specially dowered with beauty. She is not handsome but she is the choice of her husband.

405. Uliuli a fine Eua: The dark complexion of a Eua woman. 539 832 562 184

The women of Eua were not reckoned beauties, but were well looked after and hard to come at. If a boat called at Eua the women would freely move about and perform the tasks incidental to the entertainment of the visitors, but at night were shut up and carefully guarded. The expression refers slightingly to these ladies, who, in spite of their lack of charm, were jealously watched.

406. Jiiji a pakiji: The wiry man is lean. 539 826

The word *pakiji* means lean but strong. There is a certain redundancy in saying that such a strong wiry man is thin.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

427. Valoki e kulo ki he fakapaku: The pot scolding the frying-pan. 539 571

An entirely modern adaptation of the English pot and kettle expression, and with the same meaning. (See No. 483.)

DOMESTIC RELATIONS

MOTHER AND CHILD

428. Fakamui i mama: At the end in chewing. 539 855 593

Mothers often feed young children by chewing up food in their own mouths and then transferring it to the mouths of the children. This expression indicates a mother who chews food for her child but deprives the youngster of his due by swallowing a portion of the food and giving the child the remainder. The literal meaning seems to be, "at the end of the chewing (she swallows)," or more probably, "(she gives the child) the end of the chew," that is, what is left after her own swallow.

429. Kai tama: Child eating.

Applied to parents who are unkind to their children, and also to those who are unkind to close relatives. [602]

430. Kuo ta ki hono uho: It was struck to his naval-corn. 539 852 844 828

After the birth of a child the umbilical cord was cut by the father or male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord in a convenient position, and the father severed it with a hatchet uttering a wish for the future destiny of the child: that a girl would be beautiful; that a boy would become a great warrior or fisherman, and the like. So when anyone is peculiarly apt at some particular task or seems to have been born to meet some special circumstances that have arisen, it is not uncommon to say that his cord was cut for that, just as we say in English that he was destined for it.

431. Lau tama fai ki he fatu: Reckoning a child in the womb. 539 183

Wait till the child is safely born before you have anything to say about it, or any plans to make for it. It is just like our English expression, "Counting your chickens before they are hatched."

This recalls, though it has no very direct bearing on it, the story of a chiefly woman who died during pregnancy, and after the vault in which she was buried had been closed up those busy about the grave heard the cry of a child from below. The matter was reported to the King who ordered that the child should be named Finau Taeiloa, that is, Finau Unknown. This is said to be the origin of the name Finau Taeiloa. 539 553

432. Ofa a fine paa: Love of barren woman. 539 851 554 828

Great as the love of a childless woman may be yet it does not reach the intensity of the love of a mother.

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

Presumably if men passed from one side to the other of the net the fish would do the same. The various sweet-smelling flowers which are used to adorn and scent the leaf-girdles which are always worn on festival occasions by both men and women, but particularly by the women, are protected by a tabu belonging to the range of sympathetic magic. Flowers that have been used in the leaf-girdle must not be burnt before they are quite dead and dried up. Should this tabu be violated the tree from which the burnt blossoms were taken will thereafter be useless for supplying flowers for the girdles, and any blooms plucked from it will quickly fade. It is only the individual tree which is affected, and flowers from other trees of the same species will retain their scent and freshness as before.

Fishing, an important industry of the inhabitants of these tiny islets, and one moreover subject to alternations of success and failure, of calm tranquillity and boisterous hazard, from causes which it is frequently difficult either to foresee or to explain, retains in large measure its old safeguard of tabus. If a man be out fishing and someone inquire of his wife where he is she must not tell. Better to sacrifice the truth than her husband's luck. This tabu, however, is now falling into disregard. The best known tabus are those concerning the bonito and the shark. The bonito whose origin, or at the least first arrival in Tongan waters, has a supernatural connection with the Tui Haangana, the chief of the island of Haano in Haapai, will not suffer himself to be caught off that island if the chief ventures outside his house whilst bonito are in the vicinity. A similar tabu keeps one of the chiefs of the eastern end of Tongatabu within doors when the bonito appears. There is also a proper order for the disposal of the first-fruits of the bonito fishing in Tongatabu before the fish is available for the people at large.

Of no fishing is the ritual more exact and more flourishing today than that attending the pursuit of the shark. The most perfect harmony, even of thought and sentiment, must prevail amongst the fishermen and amongst their friends and relatives ashore. Discord or the hidden rancor of the heart is fatal to success. A young woman relates that in her childhood, as a party of shark-fishers were setting out, she cried to be taken with her father who was a member of the

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

"And what then?" 226

"When it does not come there is nothing to do but return to shore, 784 because that is the proof that someone has violated the tabu of the 825 closed house, or perhaps that one of us has some grudge or anger in 828 his heart. So we must go and correct what is amiss, and then the fishing may recommence."[1]

The shark indeed is a great searcher of the heart, and the man 776 who attempts to approach the cavern where resides the great shark- 828 god of the island of Eua will find himself unable to reach the spot should his heart be not as it should be. Although particularly notable in the case of the shark the same type of idea is found in fishing generally. Persistent ill-luck gets a boat a bad reputation which reflects 828 more on the ethical qualities of crew and owners, and of the boat herself, than on their skill as fishermen. "The fishing is accursed; let us go ashore."

Gardens were protected by tabus. Frequently a coconut-leaf rep- 784 resentation of the shark was put up on the trunk of a tree, which was 825 as effective as turning the shark-god Taufa loose in the garden. It is 241 stated that Taufaahau, better known to Europeans as King George I— 643 under whom, after many years of strife, Tonga became a homo- 797 geneous kingdom with Christianity universally and firmly established 776 throughout the group—experimented with some of these tabu signs to assure himself of the impotency of the old gods, and also made the more daring test of swimming out to the opening in the reef of the island of Lifuka in Haapai and shouting defiance to the sharks.

SIN

A general idea of the sort of conduct that was ethically right is 673 obtained by attention to the words which indicate wrong-doing. This 682 is too lengthy an inquiry to be entered on in any detail in this place, 684 but to inquiries as to what conduct would be formerly included under the word *hia*, which is commonly translated "sin" but is today too much mixed up with the modern machinery of law-courts to afford a clear idea of its ancient significance, it was answered murder and connection with the wife of a man of superior rank to the offender.

[1] Op. cit., pages 59 and 60.

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

Conclusion

However great a wanderer a man may have been during his lifetime it is amongst his own kin that he wishes to sleep his last sleep. The gods of a country not his own would resent his being laid in their soil and would attempt to drive him away. The unlucky exile, therefore, would appear to his relatives in dreams and upbraid them for their unkind behavior in leaving him to the fury of such persecutions, and would probably soon worry them into making the desired transference of his ashes. It can be very rarely, however, that the deceased is driven to these desperate measures, as the Tongan observes the most scrupulous care in the disposal of his dead. There is a curious story of one who left his body and visited Bulotu (Paradise, Hades, Abode of Hikuleo). He was absent some time, and on returning to the spot where he had left his body found that his friends, despairing of his ever again animating it, had buried it. Since then he has wandered a discarnate spirit, known as a god in Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa under the respective names of Fehuluni, Tuihaatala, and Moso; and with this disembodied vagrant we shall for the present leave the subject.

Some acknowledgments of indebtedness have been already made in the text, but in closing these notes I desire to acknowledge my special obligations to my friend and colleague the Rev. John Havea, Head Master of the Tubou College in Nukualofa, whose intelligent interest in all that concerns his race, and courteous patience in trying to make it intelligible to the foreigner, have equally made me his debtor.

Tubou College,
Nukualofa, Tonga.

535 walk toward each other and the two lines become four ('0' symbolizes
539 woman, 'X' symbolizes man):

1st formation 0000 XXXX
0000 XXXX

2nd formation XXXX
0000
XXXX
0000
(audience)

The men then move to the front of the women and then all go back to their original two lines. This intermixes men and women and then reemphasizes two distinct groups in an additional reference to ancestry and Tungi's equal chiefliness on both male and female sides.

Movements also interpret words by using a movement that sounds like the word it interprets. For example, when the word Tatakamotonga (the name of a village) is used, the movements can be pasi, pasi, M.I.a.28., fu, M.I.a.29. Pasi, pasi, two sharp claps, fall on ta ta, and fu, the crosswise hollow-sounding clap, falls on tonga.

[828] The ability to choreograph poetry is highly admired and again considered partly supernatural, hence the term for a choreographer, - pulotu haka.

Beautiful Movements

535 [538] The second concept associated with Tongan dance is beauty of movement for its own sake. Some dance genres do not interpret the

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

as an illustration of an attack that might well be more fruitful in other and more competent hands.[3]

Dreams and Psychic Stress

Dreaming occurs fairly frequently among the villagers of Pangai. Men had no hesitation in telling their dreams to us or else recording them for us. The women, however, were much shyer and it was only by considerable perseverance that Pearl Beaglehole was able to record any dreams at all from women informants. There is no reason for thinking that women dream less than men. Many dreams seem to be in terms of conventional cultural symbols and are given a conventional interpretation by the Tongans. Thus for a husband to dream of money or a ring is a sign that his wife is pregnant. Dreams portending death, usually of a member of the family or some other close relative, are those of teeth falling out (said to be a common type of dream), dreams of feces on the body, dreams of touching or handling a hen's egg.[4] Dreams of approaching fire or of slipping down into a bottomless pit are terror dreams, generally interpreted as warnings of possible punishment should the dreamer continue to commit minor sinful acts. One informant also stated that dreams could be used to validate medicinal recipes. His mother's father was visited by a female spirit in a dream and given a successful recipe to cure barrenness and sterility in women.

Wish-fulfilment dreams appear to be frequent and capable of easy interpretation. The following are examples of this type of dream:

Case 1.—Avai, a boy of 18, home on vacation from a Seventh-Day Adventist College in Nukualofa, reported to me several dreams in which "a girl friend" appeared and offered herself to him in sexual intercourse. Tongan sexual morality among young people is relatively strict. Avai had previously been asked to leave the Government College, Nukualofa, for absenting himself at night from the college. He had determined to reform, but the occurrence of this type of dream suggests that his reforming zeal was not without its intrapsychic conflict.

Case 2.—Loata, a woman of about 35, our next-door neighbor and one very poor, even according to Tongan standards, narrated the following dream to Pearl Beaglehole: "You brought me a beautiful new dress as a gift and also a lot of pins to fasten it together after it had been fitted. My daughter Saane (6 years old) ran away with the pins, and when I chased her she suddenly changed into Saane Tapaka (a girl of 18 employed by us as housegirl, with the same first name as the daughter—we had previously given Saane T. a dress). I could not catch her, and when I came back to my house to get the dress I found you had gone and the dress was nowhere to be found." This dream is, I think, self-explanatory. Loata dressed for the most part in rags because her husband was too poor to buy new piece goods at the village store.

Case 3.—Kafa, a young woman of 18 years, married for two years without yet becoming pregnant (a rarity in Tonga), confesses to many dreams in which she gives birth to and nurses an infant. She also dreams occasionally that her husband, the local storekeeper and a hardworking man, has eloped

[3] Field work on which this paper was based was carried out in Tonga, December, 1938, to February, 1939. Pearl Beaglehole and I lived in the village of Pangai, Vava'u, a small Tongan community about six miles distant from Neiafu, government and trading center for Vava'u, the northern group of Tongan islands, 170 miles away by sea from Nukualofa, capital of the Tongan kingdom. The population of Pangai is about 270. Pearl Beaglehole helped me collect the material here recorded. Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical Officer, Vava'u, kindly gave me the information on which Case 10 (below) is based.

[4] E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society," *Bishop Museum Bull.* 61, 1929, pp. 337–338, gives several further examples.

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 0U9 Tonga 0U9
Vava'u
Pangai

carry the saucepan and its contents to his own house. Sione lifts the saucepan and sets off, but suddenly he feels very sad because he sees that the saucepan is filled with filth, feces, and disease. He is disgusted with Pili for making him carry all this filth to his own house.

Sione had no interpretation of this dream to offer, nor am I able to give any specific meaning to the actual incidents reported. The equating of money with feces is, of course, of particular interest. Money is a valued object in Pangai today—hard to get except by the back-breaking labor of copra making, and much green copra is needed to earn a single shilling. At the same time, although a man may gain enough food for himself and his family by hard work in his bush plantation, nevertheless a minimum amount of money (which seems large to a Tongan villager) is absolutely necessary for piece goods for clothing, for kerosene, fishhooks, certain desirable European foods, and tobacco. Money for the Tongan is not yet a symbol of power, but it is still a fundamental necessity which is hard to acquire and easy to spend. With this attitude toward money, it is perhaps understandable that there should occur in this Tongan dream an identification similar to identifications that occur in our own society.[1]

Of the dreams that we collected, however, the large majority seem to be motivated by emotional conflicts over religious matters, usually anxieties over schismatic differences between the various Christian churches in Tonga. In the village of Pangai there are today three religious groups professing Wesleyan Christianity (Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Free Church of Tonga, Church of Tonga) and a Roman Catholic group as well. Members of the Latter Day Saints Church are found in a near-by township, and one at least of the men of Pangai professed to be a Seventh-Day Adventist—all these in a village of about 270 people. Moreover, religion for the villagers is not something merely for Sunday observance; it is a real life-and-death matter, involving prayer services on most week days, and, because church law is in many aspects of conduct identical with secular law, religious influences permeate through to every nook and corner of contemporary Tongan culture. More than any other set of values, religious values are today providing the cement that gives a significant integration to Tongan society—thus doubtless playing a role that was formerly filled by aboriginal Tongan religion. Chang in religious ideology, has occurred, but it is largely a mere variation (god substitutions, tapu substitution, etc.) on a fundamental pattern that today, as formerly, provides a cohesive force in Tongan life. By this I mean to stress the fact that the Pangai villager takes his religion seriously. It vitally affects both his living and his dying in such a fashion that it is not surprising for psychic stress to be formulated in religious terms and symbols.

The following dream, for example, suggests a phrasing of adolescent love interest in religious terms:

Case 8.—A dream of Ana, unmarried girl of 16 years. She dreamed she was walking down the village road and came to a place where the road branched. One road was narrow and dark. The other road was smooth, bright, and well

[1] See Ernest Beaglehole, *Property* (New York, 1932), pp. 266–272. Seligman in his paper on "Temperament, Conflict, and Psychosis in a Stone Age Population" (*Brit. Jour. Med. Psych.*, Vol. 9, 1929, p. 196) gives the case of a native of Massim, New Guinea, who had been serving as a store boy and suffering from delusions of grandeur in which he equated money with feces. Also, it may be noted that apart from brief maniacal attacks, Seligman (*op. cit.*, p. 195) is of the opinion that psychoses do not occur among New Guinea natives except as the result of stresses set up by white influence—a point of observation which, if true, would tend to support the theoretical position outlined in the present paper.

/246 cont./

772 world consisted of two fundamental types: (650)

(113) 650. H. Nevermann, Gotter der Sudsee /Gods of the South Seas/. Stuttgart 1947. p. 75.

the high (that is, the gods, the Mana (651),

(798) 651. "The essence that is extraordinarily effective" (that results in courage, bravery, talent, luck and physical strength in above-average measure) (ibid., p. 39).

the nobles, light and day, life and so on) and the low (that is, the commoners, darkness and night, everything that destroys, death and so on).

828 People believed that a human being consisted of three parts: the
794 body and vital energy (both of which were perishable) as well as the
795 phantom-being that separates itself from the body after death and goes on living independently. (652)

562. H. Nevermann, loc. cit. pp. 39/40.

(565) The Tongans, however, qualified this by saying that only nobles possessed such phantom-beings whereas for commoners there was no life after death. (653)

653. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 121, 136.

565 Thus, according to the popular belief, only the deceased nobles
795 lived in that world beyond, which was never seen by human beings,
792 which lay in the distant northwest and was called pulotu; there the phantom-beings of chiefs and the matapule serving them enjoyed an existance which, in accordance with their particular rank, was similar to their past earthly one, but was easier and more pleasant--quite simply, godlike. (654)

654. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 105, 108, 135.

795 There, the phantom-beings of chiefs were endowed with godlike power
787 and were able to return to Tonga and appear to priests, to their

[No p. 371 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

/279 cont./

871 truly beneficial only for the small group of natives who find employment
876 in the government, in the church or in trade.
[177]

177 The transmission of European knowledge outside the schools is very
[538] slight. There is no Tongan secular literature. The natives have few
[209] radios. Newspapers and magazines only occasionally come into the hands
[204] of the Tongans. In Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu and Neiafu/Vava'u they can see
[546] films in small cinemas. The few natives working among whites (mission-
aries, teachers, physicians, administrative employees, traders), as attentive observers, become acquainted with all kinds of European ideas.
[521] But the majority of Tongan men and women, after having attended school, are dependent for an increase in their knowledge on face-to-face conversations, especially at the evening kava circles in the villages; and in this case actual knowledge is mixed with exaggerated tales and wild rumors.

871 Seen as a whole, the natives of this Archipelago doubtless know
828 more than is needed for life on their small islands. /280/ This is not
177 to be traced back solely to the school system as such, but actually
181 to the lively eagerness to learn on the part of many Tongans. Their
185 pleasure in learning is above all the result of the natives' so typical interest in everything new and worth knowing. Added to that is the desire to share in the superior world of the whites. Moreover, since "education" has become a measure of value within the community, the desire for recognition of the individual strengthens the general eagerness to learn. Ultimately this is also very much furthered by democratization, since commoners are now able to achieve special
871 positions through proper training. Almost the entire population of the
181 Archipelago has a positive attitude toward the modern school system.
186 Most elementary pupils probably have the ambition to go on to one of the very respected colleges, (759)

759. After their final examination the young natives